PREFACE

* * * other more entertaining writings may be found,[1] in order that like recreation might be provided for my children, when they should have some respite from business affairs and could unbend and divert their minds. But in the arrangement of my material I have adopted the same haphazard order that I had previously followed in collecting it. For whenever I had taken in hand any Greek or Latin book, or had heard anything worth remembering, I used to jot down whatever took my fancy, of any and every kind, without any definite plan or order; and such notes I would lay away as an aid to my memory, like a kind of literary storehouse, so that when the need arose of a word or a subject which I chanced for the moment to have forgotten, and the books from which I had taken it were not at hand, I could readily find and produce it.

It therefore follows, that in these notes there is the same variety of subject that there was in those former brief jottings which I had made without order or arrangement, as the fruit of instruction or reading in various lines. And since, as I have said, I began to amuse myself by assembling these notes during the long winter nights which I spent on a country-place in the land of Attica, I have therefore given them the title of *Attic Nights*, making no at-

[1] The beginning of the sentence is lost; the following final clause depends upon some such verb as *scripsi*.

PRAEFATIO

1 * * * iucundiora alia reperiri queunt, ad hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent, quando animus eorum interstitione aliqua negotiorum
2 data laxari indulgerique potuisset. Usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpendo feceramus. Nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam seu Graecum seu Latinum vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita quae libitum erat, cuius generis cumque erant, indistincte atque promisce annotabam eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam, ut quando usus venisset aut rei aut verbi, cuius me repens forte oblivio tenuisset, et libri ex quibus ea sumpseram non adessent, facile inde nobis inventu atque depromptu foret.

3 Facta igitur est in his quoque commentariis eadem rerum disparilitas quae fuit in illis annotationibus pristinis, quas breviter et indigeste et incondite ex[1]
4 eruditionibus lectionibusque variis feceramus. Sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro, sicuti dixi, terrae Atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus, idcirco eas inscripsimus *Noctium* esse *Atticarum*, nihil imitati festivitates in-

[1] *ex, added by J. F. Gronov.*

PREFACE

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scriptionum quas plerique alii utriusque linguae
5 scriptores in id genus libris fecerunt. Nam quia variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiverant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam
6 exquisitissimos indiderunt. Namque alii *Musarum* inscripserunt, alii *Silvarum*, ille Πέπλον, hic Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας, alius Κηρία, partim Λειμῶνας, quidam *Lectionis Suae*, alius *Antiquarum Lectionum* atque alius Ἀνθηρῶν
7 et item alius Εὑρημάτων. Sunt etiam qui Λύχνους inscripserint, sunt item qui Στρωματεῖς, sunt adeo qui Πανδέκτας et Ἑλικῶνα et Προβλήματα et Ἐγχει-
8 ρίδια et Παραξιφίδας. Est qui *Memoriales* titulum fecerit, est qui Πραγματικὰ et Πάρεργα et Διδασκαλικά, est item qui *Historiae Naturalis*, et[1] Παντοδαπῆς Ἱστορίας, est praeterea qui *Pratum*, est itidem qui Πάγκαρπον, est qui Τόπων scripserit[2]; sunt item multi qui
9 *Coniectanea*, neque item non sunt qui indices libris suis fecerint aut *Epistularum Moralium* aut *Epistolicarum Quaestionum* aut *Confusarum* et quaedam alia inscripta nimis lepida multasque prorsum concinnitates
10 redolentia. Nos vero, ut captus noster est, incuriose et inmeditate ac prope etiam subrustice ex ipso loco ac tempore hibernarum vigiliarum *Atticas Noctes*

[1] et, *Skutsch*; est, ω.
[2] scripserit, *Petschenig*; scripsit, ω.

[1] *Silva*, and its Greek equivalent *Hyle* (Suet. *Gramm.* x), was used metaphorically of material in a rough form, and of hasty and more or less extempore productions; see Quint. x. 3. 17.

[2] Of the thirty titles cited by Gellius about one-half can be assigned to their authors, many of whom Gellius himself mentions in various parts of his work; see the Index. There are others which he undoubtedly used, but does not cite, such as the "Universal History" of Favorinus. "The Muses" refers not to Herodotus, who gave the name of a

tempt to imitate the witty captions which many other writers of both languages have devised for works of the kind. For since they had laboriously gathered varied, manifold, and as it were indiscriminate learning, they therefore invented ingenious titles also, to correspond with that idea. Thus some called their books "The Muses," others "Woods" [1] one used the title "Athena's Mantle," another "The Horn of Amaltheia," still another "Honeycomb," several "Meads," one "Fruits of my Reading," another "Gleanings from Early Writers," another "The Nosegay," still another "Discoveries." Some have used the name "Torches," others "Tapestry," others "Repertory," others "Helicon," "Problems," "Handbooks" and "Daggers." One man called his book "Memorabilia," one "Principia," one "Incidentals," another "Instructions." Other titles are "Natural History," "Universal History," "The Field," "The Fruit-basket," or "Topics." Many have termed their notes "Miscellanies," some "Moral Epistles," "Questions in Epistolary Form," or "Miscellaneous Queries," and there are some other titles that are exceedingly witty and redolent of extreme refinement.[2] But I, bearing in mind my limitations, gave my work off-hand, without premeditation, and indeed almost in rustic fashion, the caption of *Attic Nights*, derived merely from the time and place of

Muse to each of the books of his "History," but to Aurelius Opilius, cited by Gellius in i. 25. 17. The "Silvae" belong either to Valerius Probus (Suet. *Gramm.* 24) or to Ateius Philologus (id. 10); the "Silvae" of Statius are of a different character. Λειμών was used by Pamphilus, by Gellius himself, and by Cicero of a work of a different kind; the Latin equivalent "Pratum" was used by Suetonius. For further information see the Index.

inscripsimus, tantum ceteris omnibus in ipsius quoque inscriptionis laude cedentes, quantum cessimus in cura et elegantia scriptionis.

11 Sed ne consilium quidem in excerpendis notandisque rebus idem mihi, quod plerisque illis, fuit. Namque illi omnes et eorum maxime Graeci, multa et varia lectitantes, in quas res cumque inciderant, "alba," ut dicitur, "linea" sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati converrebant, quibus in legendis ante animus senio ac taedio languebit quam unum alterumve reppererit quod sit aut voluptati legere aut cultui
12 legisse aut usui meminisse. Ego vero, cum illud Ephesii viri summe nobilis verbum cordi haberem, quod profecto ita est πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει, ipse quidem volvendis transeundisque multis admodum voluminibus per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla in quibus furari otium potui exercitus defessusque sum, sed modica ex his eaque sola accepi quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent aut homines aliis iam vitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque verborum imperitia vindicarent.

13 Quod erunt autem in his commentariis pauca quaedam scrupulosa et anxia, vel ex grammatica vel ex dialectica vel etiam ex geometrica,[1] quodque erunt

[1] geometrica, ω ; geometria, ϛ (*A. L. L.* x, p. 240)

[1] A proverb of Greek origin, found in Sophocles, Frag. 307, Nauck²: οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λευκῷ λίθῳ λευκὴ στάθμη. A builder's chalked line leaves no mark on white substances. The abbreviated form λευκὴ στάθμη (*alba linea*) in Plato, *Charm.* p. 154 B, and Lucil. 831, Marx.

my winter's vigils; I thus fall as far short of all other writers in the dignity too even of my title, as I do in care and in elegance of style.

Neither had I in making my excerpts and notes the same purpose as many of those whom I have mentioned. For all of them, and in particular the Greeks, after wide and varied reading, with a white line, as the saying goes,[1] that is with no effort to discriminate, swept together whatever they had found, aiming at mere quantity. The perusal of such collections will exhaust the mind through weariness or disgust, before it finds one or two notes which it is a pleasure to read, or inspiring to have read, or helpful to remember. I myself, on the contrary, having at heart that well-known saying of the famous Ephesian,[2] "Much learning does not make a scholar," did it is true busy and even weary myself in unrolling and running through many a scroll, working without cessation in all the intervals of business whenever I could steal the leisure; but I took few items from them, confining myself to those which, by furnishing a quick and easy short-cut, might lead active and alert minds to a desire for independent learning and to the study of the useful arts, or would save those who are already fully occupied with the other duties of life from an ignorance of words and things which is assuredly shameful and boorish.

Now just because there will be found in these notes some few topics that are knotty and troublesome, either from Grammar or Dialectics or even from Geometry, and because there will also be some

[2] Heracleitus, Frag. 16, Bywater. Cf. Aeschylus, Frag. 286: ὁ χρήσιμ' εἰδὼς, οὐχ ὁ πολλ' εἰδὼς σοφός.

item paucula remotiora super augurio iure et pontificio, non oportet ea defugere, quasi aut cognitu non utilia aut perceptu difficilia. Non enim fecimus altos nimis et obscuros in his rebus quaestionum sinus, sed primitias quasdam et quasi libamenta ingenuarum artium dedimus, quae virum civiliter eruditum neque audisse umquam neque attigisse, si non inutile, at
14 quidem certe indecorum est. Ab his igitur, si cui forte nonnumquam tempus voluptasque erit lucubratiunculas istas cognoscere, petitum impetratumque volumus, ut in legendo quae pridem scierint non
15 aspernentur quasi nota invulgataque. Nam ecquid[1] tam remotum in litteris est quin id tamen complusculi sciant? Et satis hoc blandum est, non esse haec neque in scholis decantata neque in commentariis
16 protrita. Quae porro nova sibi ignotaque offenderint, aequum esse puto ut sine vano obtrectatu considerent an minutae istae admonitiones et pauxillulae nequaquam tamen sint vel ad alendum studium vescae vel ad oblectandum fovendumque animum frigidae, sed eius seminis generisque sint ex quo facile adolescant aut ingenia hominum vegetiora aut memoria adminiculatior aut oratio sollertior aut sermo incorruptior
17 aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior. Quae autem parum plana videbuntur aut minus plena in-

[1] ecquid, *Madvig*; et quid, ω.

little material of a somewhat recondite character about augural or pontifical law, one ought not therefore to avoid such topics as useless to know or difficult to comprehend. For I have not made an excessively deep and obscure investigation of the intricacies of these questions, but I have presented the first fruits, so to say, and a kind of foretaste of the liberal arts; and never to have heard of these, or come in contact with them, is at least unbecoming, if not positively harmful, for a man with even an ordinary education. Of those then, if such there be, who may perhaps sometimes have leisure and inclination to acquaint themselves with these lucubrations, I should like to ask and be granted the favour, that in reading of matters which they have known for a long time they shall not scorn them as commonplace and trite; for is there anything in literature so recondite as not to be known to a goodish many? In fact, I am sufficiently flattered if these subjects have not been repeated over and over again in the schools and become the common stock of commentaries. Furthermore, if my readers find anything new and unknown to them, I think it fair that they should not indulge in useless criticism, but should ask themselves whether these observations, slight and trifling though they be, are after all not without power to inspire study, or too dull to divert and stimulate the mind; whether on the contrary they do not contain the germs and the quality to make men's minds grow more vigorous, their memory more trustworthy, their eloquence more effective, their diction purer, or the pleasures of their hours of leisure and recreation more refined. But as to matters which seem too obscure, or not

structaque, petimus, inquam, ut ea non docendi magis quam admonendi gratia scripta existiment et, quasi demonstratione vestigiorum contenti, persequantur ea post, si libebit, vel libris repertis vel magistris.

18 Quae vero putaverint reprehendenda, his, si audebunt, succenseant, unde ea nos accepimus; sed enim, si[1] quae aliter apud alium scripta legerint, ne iam statim temere[2] obstrepant, sed et rationes rerum et auctoritates hominum pensitent, quos illi quosque nos secuti sumus.

19 Erit autem id longe optimum, ut qui in lectitando, percontando,[3] scribendo, commentando, numquam voluptates, numquam labores ceperunt, nullas hoc genus vigilias vigilarunt neque ullis inter eiusdem Musae aemulos certationibus disceptationibusque elimati sunt, sed intemperiarum negotiorumque pleni sunt, abeant[4] a "Noctibus" his procul, atque alia sibi oblectamenta quaerant. Vetus adagium est:

Nil cum fidibus graculost,[5] nihil cum amaracino sui.

20 Atque etiam, quo sit quorundam male doctorum hominum scaevitas et invidentia irritatior, mutuabor ex Aristophanae choro anapaesta pauca et quam ille homo festivissimus fabulae suae spectandae legem dedit, eandem ego commentariis his legendis dabo, ut ea ne attingat neve adeat profestum et profanum

[1] si, *added by Skutsch.*
[2] temere, *Carrio*; tempere, *ω* (tempore *R*).
[3] percontando, *added by J. F. Gronov*; see note 4.
[4] labeant percontando scribendo, *ω*.
[5] graculos, *ω*.

[1] FPR, p. 56, Bährens. *Amaracinum* (sc. *unguentum*) was a perfumed oil from Cos (Pliny, *N.H.* xiii. 5). Marjoram (*amaracus*) was also used, alone or with other ingredients, in other unguents (Pliny, *N.H.* xiii. 13, 14).

presented in full enough detail, I beg once again that my readers may consider them written, not so much to instruct, as to give a hint, and that content with my, so to speak, pointing out of the path, they may afterwards follow up those subjects, if they so desire, with the aid either of books or of teachers. But if they find food for criticism, let them, if they have the courage, blame those from whom I drew my material; or if they discover that different statements are made by someone else, let them not at once give way to hasty censure, but rather let them weigh the reasons for the statements and the value of the authorities which those other writers and which I have followed.

For those, however, who have never found pleasure nor busied themselves in reading, inquiring, writing and taking notes, who have never spent wakeful nights in such employments, who have never improved themselves by discussion and debate with rival followers of the same Muse, but are absorbed in the turmoil of business affairs—for such men it will be by far the best plan to hold wholly aloof from these "Nights" and seek for themselves other diversion. There is an old saying:

> The daw knows naught of the lyre, the hog naught of marjoram ointment.[1]

Moreover, in order that the perversity and envy of certain half-educated men may be the more aroused, I shall borrow a few anapaests from a chorus of Aristophanes, and the conditions which that wittiest of men imposed for the viewing of his play, I shall lay down for the reading of these notes of mine: namely, that the profane and uninitiate throng, averse to the Muses' play, shall neither touch nor

vulgus, a ludo musico diversum. Versus legis datae hi sunt:

Εὐφημεῖν χρὴ κἀξίστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν
Ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμῃ μὴ καθαρεύει
Ἢ γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρευσεν,
Τούτοις αὐδῶ, καὖθις ἀπαυδῶ, καὖθις τὸ τρίτον μάλ' ἀπαυδῶ
Ἐξίστασθαι μύσταισι χοροῖς, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀνεγείρετε μολπὴν
Καὶ παννυχίδας τὰς ἡμετέρας, αἳ τῇδε πρέπουσιν ἑορτῇ.

Volumina commentariorum ad hunc diem viginti iam facta sunt. Quantum autem vitae mihi deinceps deum voluntate erit quantumque a tuenda re familiari procurandoque cultu liberorum meorum dabitur otium, ea omnia subsiciva et subsecundaria tempora ad colligendas huiuscemodi memoriarum delectatiunculas conferam. Progredietur ergo numerus librorum, diis bene iuvantibus, cum ipsius vitae quantuli quomque[1] fuerint progressibus, neque longiora mihi dari spatia vivendi volo quam dum ero ad hanc quoque facultatem scribendi commentandique idoneus.

Capita rerum quae cuique commentario insunt, exposuimus hic universa, ut iam statim declaretur quid quo in libro quaeri invenirique possit.

[1] quomque, *Skutsch*; quique, *ω*.

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[1] *Frogs*, 354 ff. 359 ff.; Roger's translation.

approach them. The verses which contain those conditions run as follows:[1]

All evil thought and profane be still:
far hence, far hence from our choirs depart,
Who knows not well what the Mystics tell,
or is not holy and pure of heart;
Who ne'er has the noble revelry learned,
or danced the dance of the Muses high;

* * * * *

I charge them once, I charge them twice,
I charge them thrice, that they draw not nigh
To the sacred dance of the Mystic choir.
But YE, my comrades, awake the song,
The night-long revels of joy and mirth
which ever of right to our feast belong.

Up to the present day I have already completed twenty books of notes. As much longer life as the Gods' will shall grant me, and as much respite as is given me from managing my affairs and attending to the education of my children, every moment of that remaining and leisure time I shall devote to collecting similar brief and entertaining memoranda. Thus the number of books, given the Gods' gracious help, will keep pace with the years of life itself, however many or few they may be, nor have I any desire to be allotted a longer span of existence than so long as I retain my present ability to write and take notes.

Summaries of the material to be found in each book of my Commentaries I have here placed all together, in order that it may at once be clear what is to be sought and found in every book.

CAPITULA LIBRI PRIMI[1]

PAGINA

I. Quali proportione quibusque collectionibus Plutarchus ratiocinatum esse Pythagoram philosophum dixerit de comprehendenda corporis proceritate qua fuit Hercules, cum vitam inter homines viveret . 2

II. Ab Herode Attico C. V. tempestive deprompta in quendam iactantem et gloriosum adulescentem, specie tantum philosophiae sectatorem, verba Epicteti Stoici, quibus festiviter a vero Stoico seiunxit vulgus loquacium nebulonum qui se Stoicos nuncuparent 4

III. Quod Chilo Lacedaemonius consilium anceps pro salute amici cepit; quodque est circumspecte et anxie considerandum an pro utilitatibus amicorum delinquendum aliquando sit; notataque inibi et relata quae et Theophrastus et M. Cicero super ea re scripserunt 10

IV. Quam tenuiter curioseque exploraverit Antonius Iulianus in oratione M. Tulii verbi ab eo mutati argutiam 24

V. Quod Demosthenes rhetor cultu corporis atque vestitu probris obnoxio infamique munditia fuit; quodque item Hortensius orator, ob eiusmodi munditias gestumque in agendo histrionicum, Dionysiae saltatriculae cognomento compellatus est . . . 28

VI. Verba ex oratione Metelli Numidici quam dixit in censura ad populum, cum eum ad uxores ducendas adhortaretur; eaque oratio quam ob causam reprehensa et quo contra modo defensa sit . . . 30

[1] *For variants see the chapters to which the headings belong. The headings are divided among the separate volumes.*

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II. The apt use made by Herodes Atticus, the ex-consul, in reply to an arrogant and boastful young fellow, a student of philosophy in appearance only, of the passage in which Epictetus the Stoic humorously set apart the true Stoic from the mob of prating triflers who called themselves Stoics . 5

III. The difficult decision which the Lacedaemonian Chilo made to save a friend; and that one should consider scrupulously and anxiously whether one ought ever to do wrong in the interest of friends, with notes and quotations on that subject from the writings of Theophrastus and Marcus Cicero . . 11

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VIII. Historia in libris Sotionis philosophi reperta super Laide meretrice et Demosthene rhetore . . 42

IX. Quis modus fuerit, quis ordo disciplinae Pythagoricae, quantumque temporis imperatum observatumque sit discendi simul ac tacendi 44

X. Quibus verbis compellaverit Favorinus philosophus adulescentem casce nimis et prisce loquentem . . 50

XI. Quod Thucydides, scriptor inclitus, Lacedaemonios in acie non tuba, sed tibiis esse usos dicit, verbaque eius super ea re posita; quodque Herodotus Alyattem regem fidicinas in procinctu habuisse tradit; atque inibi quaedam notata de Gracchi fistula contionaria 52

XII. Virgo Vestae quid aetatis et ex quali familia et quo ritu quibusque caerimoniis et religionibus ac quo nomine a pontifice maximo capiatur, et quo statim iure esse incipiat simul atque capta est; quodque, ut Labeo dicit, nec intestato cuiquam nec eius intestatae quisquam iure heres est . . . 58

XIII. Quaesitum esse in philosophia, quidnam foret in recepto mandato rectius, idne omnino facere quod mandatum est, an nonnumquam etiam contra, si id

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VII. In these words of Cicero, from his fifth oration *Against Verres*, *hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum*, there is no error in writing or grammar, but those are wrong who do violence to good copies by writing *futuram*; and in that connection mention is also made of another word of Cicero's which, though correct, is wrongly changed; with a few incidental remarks on the melody and cadence of periods for which Cicero earnestly strove 35

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X. In what terms the philosopher Favorinus rebuked a young man who used language that was too old-fashioned and archaic 51

XI. The statement of the celebrated writer Thucydides, that the Lacedaemonians in battle used pipes and not trumpets, with a citation of his words on that subject; and the remark of Herodotus that king Alyattes had female lyre-players as part of his military equipment; and finally, some notes on the pipe used by Gracchus when addressing assemblies 53

XII. At what age, from what kind of family, by what rites, ceremonies and observances, and under what title a Vestal virgin is "taken" by the chief pontiff; what legal privileges she has immediately upon being chosen; also that, according to Labeo, she is legally neither heir of an intestate person, nor is anyone her heir, in case she dies without a will 59

XIII. On the philosophical question, what would be more proper on receipt of an order—to do scrupulously what was commanded, or sometimes

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speres ei qui mandavit utilius fore; superque ea quaestione expositae diversae sententiae . . . 64

XIV. Quid dixerit feceritque C. Fabricius, magna vir gloria magnisque rebus gestis, sed familiae pecuniaeque inops, cum ei Samnites tamquam indigenti grave aurum donarent 70

XV. Quam inportunum vitium plenumque odii sit futilis inanisque loquacitas, et quam multis in locis a principibus utriusque linguae viris detestatione iusta culpata sit 72

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XVII. Quanta cum animi aequitate toleraverit Socrates uxoris ingenium intractabile; atque inibi, quid M. Varro in quadam satura de officio mariti scripserit 84

XVIII. Quod M. Varro in quarto decimo *Humanarum* L. Aelium magistrum suum in ἐτυμολογίᾳ falsa reprehendit; quodque idem Varro in eodem libro falsum furis ἔτυμον dicit 86

XIX. Historia super libris Sibyllinis ac de Tarquinio Superbo rege 88

XX. Quid geometrae dicant ἐπίπεδον, quid στερεόν, quid κύβον, quid γραμμήν; quibusque ista omnia Latinis vocabulis appellentur 90

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